

A
Compassionate Enquiry
INTO THE
CAUSES
OF THE *1694.e*
Civil War. *16*
IN A
SERMON

PREACHED

In the Church of St. BOTOLPH ALDGATE,
On *January* XXXI, 1701. the Day of Fast
For the Martyrdom of

King CHARLES the First.

By WHITE KENNETT, D.D. Arch-
Deacon of *Huntingdon*, and Minister of
St. Botolph without Aldgate.

The Third Edition.

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COMPASSIONATE EVIDENCE
C A U S E S

CIVIL WAR

ESSAYS



King CHARLES the First

BY WHITE R. E. W. V. D. D. A. B.
Deacon of the Church of St. Andrew
St. Andrew's Church, London

THE SECOND EDITION

LONDON

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Advertisement.

THIS plain Sermon was not designed for the Press, but it was challenged to appear there by the Misapprehension of some Few who heard it, and by the more confident Report of a far greater Number who did not hear it. The Author was one of the last Persons in the Neighbourhood, who was told of the Noise so industriously spread thro' all the Town; and he was then very little concern'd about it, able to despise Calumny, not only by a Sense of his own Integrity, but by being accustomed to bear it: And therefore he was passing over This, as he had done many other Stories, in Silence, and in secret Prayers for a better Mind

ADVERTISEMENT.

to those, who took the Liberty to invent or improve such unreasonable Scandal. But when, soon after, his Friends told him, that a Publication of the Sermon would be an honest way to undeceive many honest People; he then sent away the Copy for this Impression of it, wherein nothing is omitted, and nothing material added, as shall appear to any, that will go and ask the Writer for the Original.

A

A
SERMON

Preach'd January 31st, 170⁴.

JEREMIAH xliv. 23.

Latter Part — *Therefore this Evil
is hapned unto You, as at this Day.*

THE EVIL OF THIS DAY,
which we now deplore in Fasting
and Mourning, was an Unnatu-
ral *Civil War*, that overturn'd the
best Constitution in the World, that made
our whole Island an *Aceldama*, a *Field of Blood*,
and thro' heaps of Rapine and Slaughter, pro-
ceeded to the Deplorable Death of the *Martyr*
of this Day, one of the most Virtuous and
most Religious of our *English* Princes.

B

On

On this *Day of afflicting our Souls*, to promote our Sorrow and Repentance for the *Evil* that is past; and to create an Abhorrence of ever bringing the *like Evil* upon us, or our Posterity; it may be now not improper to reflect, whence and by what means, how and why *this Evil came upon us as at this Day*: That seeing and understanding the cursed *Causes of it*, we may be the better able to *atone* for the past Iniquities; and the more careful to prevent the like fatal Effects for the future.

This you will find to have been the Method of the Holy Prophet in the Text.

The *Word that came to Jeremiah* does speak out the dreadful Calamity that had fallen upon the Jewish People, ver. 2, *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Ye have seen all the Evil that I have brought upon Jerusalem, and upon all the Cities of Judah, and behold this day they are a Desolation.* And again, ver. 6. *My Fury and mine Anger was poured forth, and was kindled in the Cities of Judah, and in the Streets of Jerusalem.* And farther still, ver. 8. *Ye are a Curse and a Reproach among all the Nations of the Earth.*

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The Prophet would now humble the Men of *Israel* into a serious Sense of their past Sin and Folly : He would make them recollect, how and for what Reason all this miserable Confusion came upon them. No doubt, the dismal Sufferings must be owing to their heinous Provocations, *to the Wickedness of their Fathers, and to their own Wickedness which they had committed, ver. 9. Obstinate and Impenitent in the crying Sins of their Nation, v. 10. They are not humbled even unto this Day, neither have they feared nor walked in my Law, nor in my Statutes that I set before you, and before your Fathers.*

But above all, their special and more aggravated Sins, that were Sins against the Publick Peace, that incensed God to watch over them for Evil, and not for Good : They were a Contempt of their own excellent Religion, a leaning unto strange Gods, and to the new Worship in Foreign Countries ; a perfect Idolatry, which was no less than an Apostacy from their own Faith and Communion ; as intimated and express'd in the several Parts of this Chapter, and more especially in the Introduction of the Text, v. 21. *The Incense*

that ye burnt in the Cities of Judah, and in the Streets of Jerusalem—— v. 22. So that the Lord could no longer bear because of the evil of your doings, and because of the Abominations which ye have committed—— v. 23. Because ye have burnt Incense, and because ye have sinned against the Lord, and have not obey'd the Voice of the Lord—— Therefore this Evil is hapned unto you, as at this Day.

But leaving this Admonition and Example on your Minds, I pass over the Land of *Israel*, and their Sufferings of Desolation and Captivity, while I bring home the Text to our own Native Country, to the Calamities of that Civil War, or rather that great Rebellion, and that Horrid Fact committed on the *Lord's Anointed*, which we this Day remember in grievous Mourning and Lamentation. And here we will endeavour to satisfy our selves in some of the Springs and First Causes of that National Judgment, to shew *wherefore this Evil hapned to us, as at this Day.*

I confess this to be an Argument that may call in question the Prudence of him that shall chuse it. For to speak of the Sins and
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the Evils of any one Age or Generation, is a Subject toward the dubious and dangerous side, and may be liable to be censur'd sooner than to be rightly understood. There is much of this Caution intimated by the Wise Man, *Eccles. 7. 10. Say not thou, what is the Cause that the former Days were better than these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this.* Not wisely done according to worldly Wisdom, to look forward or backward with a too observing Eye; not wisely done to enquire, *why former Days were better or worse.* For no Man shall point out the Iniquity of the Times, past or present, without giving some Offence; and therefore *Wise Men*, as the World calls them, would keep to the speaking of *smoother things*, would decline and drop every invidious Subject of Discourse.

But however, we Ministers of the Gospel, who are to know no other Politicks but *Simplicity and Godly Sincerity*, who are to become *Fools for Christ's sake*, we should not be asham'd to be thought less wise for the sake of Truth, and Justice, and Charity. And thinking all these to be concern'd nearly in this matter,

I will

I will proceed to enquire into the main Causes, that in subserviency to the Providence of God, gave Rise and Occasion to the sore Evil, to the heavy Judgment of this Day.

And I shall do it, as I am satisfied in my own Conscience, without Partiality, or any other By-respect.

The leading Causes of this Day's Evil, improved by wicked Arts and Designs, were chiefly these.

I. A *French* Interest and Alliance, and from thence arising

II. The Apprehensions and Fears of Popery, which led on

III. The Jealousies of Oppression and Illegal Power, which tended more and more to

IV. The Growth of Profaneness and Immorality; and even this help'd to produce

V. That Hypocrisy and Perfidiousness, which accomplish'd the Sin, and the infinite Scandal of this Day.

First,

First then, in those Troubles of our Israel which we now bemoan, one Principal Cause was a *French Interest and Alliance*.

There was, we know not how, that Frame and Constitution in our Ancestors, that their true *English Hearts* had continually some secret Aversion, I might say, some Antipathy to that Neighbouring Nation. *England* and *France*, like *Rome* and *Carthage*, stood always jealous and rivaling of one another.

The old *English* Aversion seems to have began with the *Norman Conquest*; when our good Fore-fathers, then lately secured by the best Laws and Liberties in the World, were invaded and subdued by a Pretender from *France*, and they soon felt that Foreign Yoke to be so hard and grievous, that they would gladly have shaken it off; but the more Patience they were forc'd to, the more they hated those insolent new Lords and Masters; calling often for their old Liberties, and the Laws of King *Edward*. Oppression might well make a good natur'd People very angry and averse, when as *Solomon* observeth, *Surely Oppression maketh a Wise Man mad.*

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This Anger and sort of Aversion to the *French* did continue fixed and rooted in the Minds, in the Bottom of the Hearts of our right *English* Fore-fathers; and truly we must degenerate far from those good Fore-fathers, before we can altogether remove that Natural Distast to a *French* Power: At least, none can be fond of it, whose Principles and Blood are not corrupted.

It was this inbred Spirit of Emulation that so often led our *English* Armies into the Bowels of *France*; and in the Reprisals of Honour conquered that Kingdom more than once; but never once more suffered this Kingdom to be conquered by the *French*, and surely never will suffer it, while the *English* Name remains.

It was on this Principle, that our *English* People never could heartily approve any Royal Match into the Court of *France*: And whenever any such Match was entred into by our former Governours, it seems to have been against the Genius of our People, and therefore fatally against the Interest of those Princes. I might give an Instance in two of the most unfortunate Reigns, those of King
Edward

Edward the Second, and King *Richard* the Second, whose Marriages into that Court had the consequence of a Calamitous Life, and an Untimely Death, to both of those unfortunate Princes.

There was somewhat of the like pernicious Influence, that work'd upon the Tragedy of this Day : Our Royal Martyr, by taking a Royal Consort from the *Bourbon* Family, did apparently bring over some Evils and Mischiefs, that disturb'd his whole Reign. For within less than one Year, the *French* Servants of that Queen grew so Imperious and so Insolent, that the King was forced to discharge them, and to humble them by a Return into their own Country. This at first created some diffidence between their Majesties, and soon fomented a War between the two Kingdoms. In short, it was this Match that began to corrupt our Nation with *French* Modes and Vanities ; to betray our Counsels to the *French* Court ; to weaken the poor Protestants in *France* ; nay, and to lessen our own Trade and Navigation. These ill Effects, beyond the King's Intention, rais'd such a Jealousy, and spread such a damp upon the *English*

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Subjects, that it was unhappily turn'd into one of the unjust Occasions of the Civil War.

The *Civil War*, which indeed began more out of Hatred to that Party, than out of any Dissaffection to the King. The People thought themselves too much under *French* Counsels and a *French* Ministry ; or else they could never have been drawn aside into that *Great Rebellion*. This Interest, when suspected to prevail, brought the King into urgent Difficulties ; and in the midst of them, the Aid and Assistance which that Interest offered Him, did but the more effectually weaken Him. On this side the Water, the *French* Services betray'd him ; and on the other side, the *French* Policies were at work to destroy Him. How far the Intrigues of *Mazarine* were in concert with the Designs of *Cromwel*, those best know, who know the History of those Times.

And therefore as *Esau's* taking to Wife an Alien and Stranger, is said to have been a grief of mind to *Isaac* and *Rebekah*, Gen. xxvi. 35. And as *Rebekah* was so much afraid lest her Son *Jacob* should make the like unsuitable Match,

Match, that she said unto her Husband, *I am weary of my Life because of the Daughters of Heth, if Jacob take a Wife of the Daughters of Heth, what good shall my life do me?* So likewise, many tender Lovers of their Faith and Country might well deplore the Unhappiness of that Alliance with *France*, which gave no small Occasion to the Calamity and the Curse of this Day: For it was from hence that did arise,

II. The Apprehensions and Fears of Popery.

Popery, that irreconcilable Enemy, not only to our Reformed Faith and Worship, but to our Civil Rights and Liberties and Properties, to our Establish'd Laws, and to all our settled Constitution.

It was for this wise and good Reason, that our first Reformers would never bear with any express Toleration of Popery, nor with any long Connivence at it. That excellent young *Josiah*, King *Edward VI.* would not dispense with his own Sister to have Publick Mass in her own Family; but denied unto Tears all the Importunity, that labour'd to

extort a License from him. Queen *Elizabeth* indulg'd them no longer than while there were some Hopes to reclaim them: When she found them inventing and obtruding a Successor of their own Heart's Desire, and corresponding abroad for Counsels and Aids, and by all ways and means labouring to reduce *England* into Bondage under *Rome*; then she spared not to preserve her Royal Person, and to protect her People by the Laws, and a steady Execution of them. It was this Wisdom and Firmness of Resolution, that made up the Peace and the Glory of that Reign. Her next Successor, King *James*, was a Champion against Popery, and strenuously opposed it, both as a Wise Governour, and as a learned Writer; and this gave Peace and Happiness to the greatest part of his Wise Administration: But when, toward the decline of it, he fell into a Treaty for a Match with *Spain*, and during that Treaty did, in a manner, suspend the Laws against the Papists, and gave his Subjects an occasion to believe, that one Article of that Match was to be the Toleration of Popery: This gave such Universal Jealousy and Discontent to his
People,

People, and the Parliaments of 'em, that it threatned apparent Danger; and if that Treaty had not broke off, and thereby eas'd the Minds of People, we know not what might have been in the end thereof.

For certainly his Royal Son, the Martyr of this Day, might justly impute many of his Troubles to these Fears and Jealousies of Popery. And they really began with the *French Alliance*, where one Article was to have a Publick Chappel, and Priests, and Mass for the Queen and her Household; the first Marriage Article of that kind since the Reformation, and therefore at the first Essay fatal to a good King and his Three Kingdoms. For this gave an Opportunity of open Resort to all Papists, Foreigners, and Natives: This gave Shelter and Protection to Swarms of Jesuits, and other Emissaries from *Rome*: This gain'd an Interest at Court for Pardons, and for Patents of Profit and Preferment, to the leading *Roman* Catholicks: This brought over one or two Nuncios from the Pope to attend upon the Queen. In short, This did give countenance to Popery, and therefore did cast a damp and dread upon many sincere

cere Protestants; and did put them into such terrible Apprehension of the *Romans coming to take away their Place and Nation*, that this strength of Fear too much began the Civil War, and help'd to carry it forward to the Innocent and Sacred Blood shed upon this Day.

These doubts and fears of *Popery* lost an Orthodox and most Regular Prince the Hearts of too many of his People; and almost robb'd him of the next valuable Blessing, his *Good Name*. For upon his tender Compliances with his intirely Beloved Royal Consort, his Enemies took advantage to misrepresent Him for a *Papist*. Though *This* was a Calumny false and malicious: In his most private Letters to the Queen, when He rejoiced to agree in all things with Her, He even then expressly excepted their *Difference in Religion*: He made a solemn Declaration at the Sacrament of his Stedfastness in the Faith and Communion of our Church: And on the very Scaffold, He sealed the same good Profession with his last Breath and Blood. It is a Justice we owe his Memory, to own, that no One Prince had his Eye and his Heart more fixed

fixed upon the Establishment and Improvement of this Church of *England*, and upon the Support and Honour of her Clergy. And it was upon this pious View, that He was graciously inclin'd to the Motion of the Archbishop for restoring Impropropriations, and augmenting small Vicarages; but the Iniquity of the Times would not then allow, what is reserv'd for the Glory of another Reign, and what must reform the greatest Corruption of Popery that remains unreform'd.

But I say those Clouds and gathering Signs of Popery did all arise from the Interests and Intrigues of a *French* Court. And therefore as God commanded the *Israelites* not to make *Marriages* with the Heathen Nations, *Deut. 7. 3.* Nor to take their Daughters, for this reason, *v. 4.* for they will turn away thy Son from following me, that they may serve other Gods: So we confess it had been happy for our Reformation, if this Law had been establish'd with it, That all Protestant Princes should pay a Duty to the Publick, in chusing Royal Consorts of the same Religion.

But to proceed: Among the Causes of the Evil that hapned unto us, as at this Day, a Third
was.

was the Thought and Dread of *Oppression* and *Illegal Power*,

We of this Happy Nation have certainly the best Constitution in the World, the Sovereignty of the Prince, the Rights of the Nobility, the Liberties of the People, all so balanc'd, and bearing up one another; that no Government on this side Heaven can be more wisely contriv'd, while it stands even upon its true *Balance*.

But as in a curious Watch, the Variety of exact Motions, while it is kept in Order, serve admirably to guide and assist each other; whereas if any one stops, or hurries on too fast, this is apt to carry all the rest into Confusion: So in our exquisite Frame of Government, it is the strict Union and Correspondence of the Parts, that must direct and support the whole. If a Member suffer, the Body suffers with it. Or if Head and Members affect to leave their own Place, and usurp a Station not designed for them; this turns the Body into a new kind of Monster. And alas! when Political Breaches once arise, if not timely laid, they grow more fierce, and may at last be fatal. For the more extraordinary
Strength

Strength the Sovereign Power does exert, the People are apt to fly into more extravagant Pretensions of Liberty; and yet again, the higher those Pretensions are, the greater Efforts will be thought needful to curb and restrain them. So that Tyranny and Rebellion seem in their Nature made to hate, and yet to help forward one another.

If the Observation of Foreigners be true, that there have been more Shakes and Convulsions in the Government of *England*, than in that of any other Nation; even *this* must be owing to the Goodness of our Constitution, and the Tenderness of it; which if carefully preserv'd, holds out in the most regular Health and Safety; but if once put out of order, it is hard to be set right again.

Popular Insurrections have been hardly subdu'd without casting too strong a Bias upon the Power that subdu'd 'em. And former Princes did rarely infringe the Charter of Public Liberties, without hurting themselves, and leaving a Wound upon Monarchy it self. For the least Attempts towards Slavery and Exorbitant Power, raised up the Appearance of a Yoke, that our *Fathers* were not able to bear: And we are their *Offspring*. D . The

The remoter Fears and Apprehensions of such a Yoke were apt to raise Clouds and Storms in every Reign: And so undoubtedly they did in the Reign of that Merciful Prince, whose violent Death we this Day lament. Far be it from any honest Heart to think, that out of Ambition or Sinister Ends, He ever proposed to injure the Birthright of his Subjects, or to alter the Constitution receiv'd from his Ancestors. No! his Clemency and Justice, his Honour and Conscience were upon too high a Principle for such *Ill Designs*. But it is possible, that the Influence of others may bring a Suspicion upon Princes, when they themselves are innocent; and then in many Cases, a *Suspicion* artfully improv'd shall work up as much Mischief, as the real Guilt would do.

And Oh how happy had it been for the Peace of that Reign, if even Doubts and Suspicions had been wanting! for then, things could never have ended in the *Evil of this Day*. If the Body of a good natur'd *English* People had but *thought* themselves secure in their Legal Rights and Tenures; they could never have been seduced into that Unnatural Rebellion. They must of necessity first believe, that their Liberties

Liberties and Estates were in some Danger, and under that Prospect and Persuasion they must have been drawn in for the Meaning at least of Self-preservation.

How happy, if no Tonnage or Customs had been exacted without a Bill to be easily attained for 'em! If no awing into Loans and Benevolence, is no projecting extraordinary Supplies without the readiest Aid of Parliament! And especially, if no levying of Ship Money, to the Surprize and Burden of the People, who never had a Notion of Taxes, but as of Money given by their own Consent! These Hardships (we call them by that Name only) did serve to exasperate the Minds of the People, and did prepare them by degrees to be led out first into Riots and Tumults, and then in Troops and Armies, against their lawful Sovereign. And tho' it is certain that the King Himself did not hastily contrive or command any of those hard Measures; but He had his Ministers to propose them, and his very Judges to approve them. Yet Good Prince! He answered for the Account, and at the foot of it, with invincible Patience, paid down his Royalty and his Life.

If we trace back the History of former Ages, we shall all along find, that the Body of the *English* People had the Spirit of a Free People; that they would not by any means put their Necks into a Yoke, nor their Feet into Chains; nor would they bow down their Backs to any illegal Burden. If a Prophet himself had told them, as *Samuel* did the *Israelites*, that the manner of their King, should be (as in other Nations) to take their Sons and their Daughters to his own arbitrary Use and Service; and to take their Fields and their Cattle at his private Will and Pleasure, *1 Sam. 8. 11* and their Answer would not have been so fond as that offer was.

Taciti
Agricola.

For Tyranny and Oppression were a Grievance Here in the remotest Times of old. The *Romans* found our *British* Ancestors inclin'd rather to Obedience than to Subjection, Quiet and Helpful, *si Injuriae absint, has ægrè tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant.* For to Obey was a voluntary Duty, but to Serve had the Disdain of being thought an Imposition on them. Nor could all the *Roman* Legions fasten these Chains upon Old Britain, where a Spirit of Honour, and a Genius to Liberty prevail'd. Hence it were easy to prove
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from their Historians, that those Roman Lords mitigated their Empire *here*, more than in any other conquered Province: They saw, that Force and Terror might serve well to manage Beasts and Slaves, but Equity and Moderation would better govern Free Men.

An unhappy Suspicion of contrary Measures did sadly help to accomplish the *Evil of this Day*. We of yesterday remember, that when an Arbitrary Executive Power was much more effectually set up in a later Reign, it broke short that Reign: And for the future it shall never be attempted, without bringing down Ruin and Confusion upon those who shall attempt it.

Fourthly, among the Causes that conspired in the Tragedy of this Day, one was the *Growth of Immorality and Profaness*, which were unhappily objected to the Reign of this Prince, tho' He was Himself a very Devout and Conscientious Prince.

And really it was no wonder, if under the Covert of Popery, a Spirit of Profaness did more sensibly obtain. It is not want of Charity to say, what we see with our Eyes, that the Principles of *Popery* are adapted to a Looseness in Morals; and that therefore the general

ral Practice of the Members of that Church is strict in nothing but little outward Observations. I could never hear Travellers report, that Rome was now the *Holy City*. Nor does Popery tend only to a Remissness of real Piety and Virtue within it self, and its own Communion; but an Experience of the Doings of Popery is apt to raise, even in some Enemies of it, a sort of Temptation and Snare to greater Infidelity and Irreligion. For so it is, that Furioufness in a false Faith and Worship does seduce unsettled Minds to cast away all Truth, because of that unagreeable Disguise of it. The very Atheism of some People has been occasionally owing to the Superstition and Bigotry of others.

We are not to believe all the Complaints, that serious Persons made of the Dissoluteness in the King's Army at that time: This is certain, that no Royal Example was given of it; and under such difficult Affairs, it was not possible for Royal Authority to restrain it altogether.

It was a juster Objection, That the Profaneness of the *English* Stage began then to be more *scandalous*, than it had been in former Times.

Times. So very scandalous, that in pure Indignation a Learned Tract was written against this growing Evil ; or as in its own Title, *Against the intolerable Mischief and Abuses of Common Plays and Play-Houses.* But this Reproof of Impiety did so offend the French Party, and made them so incense the Queen, that the Author was prosecuted and stigmatiz'd for it, with a Severity that was thought to be Cruel. On a Review of that Age, it seems very evident, that the Liberty and the Delight then taken in Plays and Opera's did help sadly to corrupt the Minds and Manners of our People, and to let in that Looseness and Irreligion, which served to suggest the Wickedness and Villanies soon after acted in the Civil War.

Fifthly and lastly, *Hypocrisy* was another lamentable Cause of this Day's Evil.

It is a melancholy Thought to consider, how *Profaness* and *Hypocrisy*, which seem the most distant and irreconcilable Enemies, do both unite to weaken the Powers of Religion. Alas ! to see the open Abominations of Profaness, is apt to seal up the Heart of the Hypocrite : And to discover the Vileness of Hypocrisy, is as apt to harden the profane Man. So the

one

one Extreme calls and drives inconsiderate Souls into the other. When it is known, that Men take up Religion for an outward Garment only, *then* it is, that some looser Minds are tempted to cast off all Religion. And again, when the infinite Scandal of that Profaneness is apparent and amazing, it *then* happens, that Men of as little Conscience find a better Account in assuming its Name, and prefer the Appearance of Religion before the *No Sign* of it. So the Reprobates and the Hypocrites, tearing out the Vitals of Religion, divide and destroy a Church and Nation. The *Sadducees* on the one hand, and the meer *Pharisees* on the other, are enough to trouble any *Israel*, and to take away the Strength and Beauty of it. And Oh what a share had the Sin of Hypocrisy in the *Evil of this Day*! I doubt not but that many sincere Christians came in with a good Meaning to one side of the unhappy Quarrel, as well as to the other. But the prime Engines, and the Workers of them, on the prevailing side, were most of them Men of Craft, and dreadful Dissemblers with God and Heaven. What artificial Fasts! What procuring Prayers! What deluding Speeches! What Abuse

Abuse of Holy Scripture! What a Noise of Cursing Meroz, of fighting the Lord's Battels, of binding Kings in Chains, &c. ! Nay, and how at last was the fatal Blow given by an utmost stretch in Hypocrisy, by one Commander putting off another more Tender and Loyal with a Sham Pretence of seeking God in Prayer, while in the mean time the Royal Blood was shed, and the Others Plea to spare it was then to no purpose.

Lord Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell;

Thus I hope with plainness of Truth, I am sure with sincerity of Heart, I have with due Compassion enquired into the most visible Causes of the Civil War, that brought on the Infamy of this Day.

Lord lay not this Sin to our Charge, but teach us to expiate those Iniquities of our Forefathers by all the contrary Virtues and Graces.

First then to avert the Dangers of a French Interest and Alliance, let us be now thankful to God, and to the Wisdom of our Governours, that we are under no such Calamity, and hardly under any Prospect of it. We are now sensible, that the Influence of such Counsels would be fatal, and the prevailing of such

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Power

Power would be intolerable. We have the Best and Greatest of Examples to incite us, to have our Hearts entirely in the *English* Interest, to abound in a Natural Affection to our own Country, and in a Publick Spirit for the Peace and Prosperity of this Age, and (as far as Human Laws and the Foresight of us Mortals can reach) of all succeeding Generations.

Secondly, as to the Dangers of Popery, which were *then* believ'd to threaten, let us beg God to keep them at the safest Distance from us, where they now stand, and God forbid their coming nearer. Let us cherish a hearty Concern for the Protestant Interest at home and abroad, among our selves, and among our Allies. And in order to this, let us labour to heal up our Breaches. Charity and Meekness and Holiness will most effectually secure the Peace and Establishment of our Church, whose excellent Guides and Governours have opposed and vanquished Popery, even in the times of greatest danger.

Thirdly, As to the former Apprehensions of *Illegal Power, and Oppression*, let us be more and more thankful to Almighty God, that under this Auspicious Reign, we have not so much as the
Appre-

Apprehension of them. Our Rights have been retrieved by a signal Providence, and committed down to Posterity, one would think, beyond a Capacity of their being ever deprived of them. May we our selves take heed, and teach our Children to take heed, not to break nor to hurt our happy Constitution, which God preserve.

Fourthly, Let the Profaness of any one Age be a Warning and a Terror to the next. The Fear of God and the living by Conscience are the Sinews of all Government; as *These* are weakned and cut off, the whole Body will languish and die. Let us give the greater Praises unto God, that he has put it into the Heart of our Gracious Sovereign the Queen to issue her Royal Proclamations, and to encourage many Publick Orders, for the *Preventing and Punishing* all manner of *Immorality and Profaness*; and so to raise and invigorate a good Spirit for the *Reformation of Manners*; a Work so expedient and beneficial to the Publick Good, that we see some admirable Effects of it, and we hope and pray for God's continual Blessing on it.

Lastly,

Lastly, let the Remembrances of *Hypocrisy* persuade us, that a Looseness in our Life and Conversation will give the greatest Advantage to it; and People who seem Righteous, may triumph over those who despise and defie the being so, and the very seeming so to be. Let this stir us All up to an unfeigned Faith, and to a sincere Repentance, and to a perfect Holiness, and to be a People zealous of Good Works, that God of his Mercy may keep us in his continual Favour and Protection.

Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake, to whom, with the Holy Ghost, be ascribed all Power and Glory for ever and ever. Amen.



FINIS.

John Edon near Ongor in Essex